

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
2nd Session

Vote No. 245

July 25, 1996, 9:33 pm
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FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS/Expanded NATO Membership

SUBJECT: Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1997 . .
. H.R. 3540. Brown modified amendment No. 5058.

ACTION: AMENDMENT AGREED TO, 81-16

SYNOPSIS: As reported, H.R. 3540, the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1997, will provide \$12.22 billion in new budget authority for foreign aid programs in fiscal year (FY) 1997. This amount is \$707.3 million below the President's request, \$161.6 million below the FY 1996 appropriated amount, and \$298.8 million more than the House-passed amount.

The Brown modified amendment would add the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996. That Act will make it the policy of the United States:

- to join with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies in making NATO adapt to the post-Cold War world;
- to assist actively the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe in their transition so that they may eventually qualify for NATO membership; and
- to work to define a constructive and cooperative political and security relationship between an enlarged NATO and the Russian Federation.

It will also designate Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia as being eligible to receive assistance under the NATO Participation Act of 1994. The President will designate other countries if they meet certain criteria. Funding will be authorized for the implementation of the NATO Participation Act. Transfers of excess defense articles under the authority of the NATO Participation Act will be given priority. Conditions under which eligibility for assistance under the NATO Participation Act will be withdrawn will be defined. The Act will also express the sense of Congress: that the United States should continue to expand its support for the full and active participation of Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Moldova, and Ukraine in activities qualifying for NATO membership; that the United States should use all diplomatic means to press the European Union to admit as soon as possible any country that qualifies for membership; that the United States and NATO should continue and

(See other side)

YEAS (81)				NAYS (16)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Republican (47 or 92%)		Democrats (34 or 74%)		Republicans (4 or 8%)	Democrats (12 or 26%)	Republicans (2)	Democrats (1)
Abraham	Helms	Akaka	Kennedy	Chafee	Bingaman	Cohen- ²	Exon- ²
Ashcroft	Inhofe	Baucus	Kerry	Hutchison	Bradley	Hatfield- ^{2AN}	
Bennett	Kassebaum	Biden	Kohl	Jeffords	Breaux		
Bond	Kempthorne	Boxer	Lautenberg	Thomas	Bumpers		
Brown	Kyl	Bryan	Levin		Dorgan		
Burns	Lott	Byrd	Lieberman		Harkin		
Campbell	Lugar	Conrad	Mikulski		Johnston		
Coats	Mack	Daschle	Moseley-Braun		Kerrey		
Cochran	McCain	Dodd	Moynihan		Leahy		
Coverdell	McConnell	Feingold	Murray		Nunn		
Craig	Murkowski	Feinstein	Pryor		Pell		
D'Amato	Nickles	Ford	Reid		Wyden		
DeWine	Pressler	Glenn	Robb				
Domenici	Roth	Graham	Rockefeller				
Faircloth	Santorum	Heflin	Sarbanes				
Frahm	Shelby	Hollings	Simon				
Frist	Simpson	Inouye	Wellstone				
Gorton	Smith						
Gramm	Snowe						
Grams	Specter						
Grassley	Stevens						
Gregg	Thompson						
Hatch	Thurmond						
	Warner						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

expand their support for military exercises and peacekeeping initiatives between and among these nations, NATO nations, and Russia; and that the process of enlarging NATO to include emerging democracies should not be limited to consideration of admitting Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia as full members. Further, the Act will express the sense of Congress that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania should not be disadvantaged in seeking to join NATO by virtue of their prior forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union. Finally, the Act is based on several findings, including that the United States continues to regard the political independence and territorial integrity of all emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe as vital to European peace and security and that some NATO members do not allow the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territory although they are accorded full collective security guarantees.

Those favoring the amendment contended:

Nature abhors a vacuum. So does an aggressor. Democracies are emerging throughout Central and Eastern Europe from the rubble of the collapsed Soviet Union. After decades of subjugation by the Nazi and Soviet empires, millions of Europeans are finally free. History teaches that new tyrants and new military threats can and do emerge very quickly. These infant democracies that are developing will likely be unable to defend themselves if a new tyrant emerges. If they are not made part of a collective security arrangement, their freedom will again be murdered in its infancy. NATO is the most successful security alliance in history. None of the free-market, democratic countries of the alliance in Europe would have been able to survive without the support of other NATO members, including the United States. We do not doubt that the Soviet Union would have conquered all of Europe if not for NATO. When the newly emerging democracies of Europe demonstrate their commitment to human rights, democracy, and free markets, when they develop forces that will be interoperable with NATO forces, and when they are fully committed to securing the safety of other NATO members, then they will belong in NATO. In our opinion, many of the emerging democracies are at this point or are near it and are trying to reach it. They want to remain free.

Some Senators have suggested that Russia might view attempts to expand NATO as a threat to it. NATO is a defensive alliance dedicated to withstanding military aggression; the only way expanding NATO could be a threat to Russia, therefore, is if Russia intended to use military aggression against any of the newly emerging democracies. In our view, expanding NATO is in Russia's interests. If Central and Eastern Europe are militarily strong due to NATO then it will be much less likely that militaristic forces will emerge in Russia that will push for expansion. Russia's energies will instead continue to be concentrated on internal market and political reforms. With its resources and its size the eventual result will likely be that it will have wealth and an economic sphere of influence in the world of civilized nations that will surpass its strength when it ruled with a communist fist. Hopefully, Russia itself will someday become a leading member of NATO, and all of Europe will be united.

The Brown amendment would provide help to the emerging democracies of Eastern and Central Europe in qualifying for NATO membership. We want these nations to succeed; the Brown amendment would make it more likely that they will. We therefore strongly urge our colleagues to vote for its adoption.

Those opposing the amendment contended:

Several aspects of this amendment are very troubling. The United States Senate very recently voted to require studies of the issue of NATO enlargement. We do not yet have the results of those studies, yet this amendment would demand action as though we did. We should not rush to change the most successful military alliance in history. This amendment is premature, and may well put the United States on record as favoring policies which turn out not to be in its interests. We therefore urge rejection of this amendment.